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HERODOTOS  
IN  
THE GREEK RENASCENCE.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES  
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,  
JUNE, 1898,

BY

DANIEL ALLEN PENICK.

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BALTIMORE:  
JOHN MURPHY COMPANY.  
1902.



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**IN**  
**THE GREEK RENASCENCE.**

**A DISSERTATION**

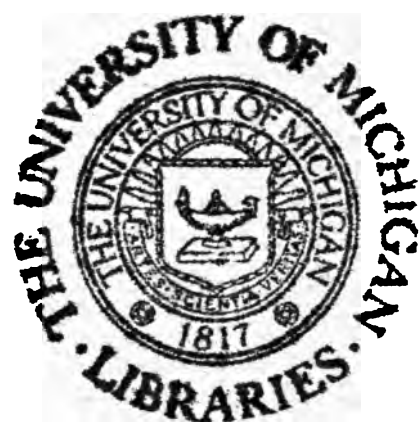
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## NOTE.

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UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN,  
*Aug. 16, 1902.*



# HERODOTOS IN THE GREEK RENASCENCE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT WRITERS UPON THE RENASCENCE.

That writers of the Greek Renaissance are much indebted to older authorities is an undisputed fact. But it is not so clear who the older authorities are—possibly all the classic writers down through the ten orators, or Homer, Herodotos, Early Comedy. There are those who say that this influence was through later writers who were themselves indebted to the old masters. Especially is it claimed for any who might have used Herodotos, that the authority was rather Ephoros and Theopompos, or even writers still later. To refute this latter position, it is necessary to study the history of prose composition between the two periods, the decadence and the revival, the fall and the rise in the excellence of composition. Blass<sup>1</sup> has compiled and elaborated Dionysios of Halicarnassos, Cicero, and Quintilian.<sup>2</sup> The designating terms, Atticism and Asianism, mean respectively Attic simplicity and a departure therefrom, so called not from any Asiatic influence, but from the fact that during the prevalence of Asianism the greatest literary activity was in Asia Minor, though the demoralization was prevalent in all Greek communities, having originated probably at Athens. "The Old Oratory was an art, and was therefore based upon a theory. The New Oratory was a knack, and was founded upon practice." The mention of oratory is significant, for it must be noted that

<sup>1</sup> Die Griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jebb, *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*, 2, C. 24.

the whole development of which we are treating was, as Schmid<sup>1</sup> has clearly pointed out, through the department of oratory rather than through philosophy or poetry, and the terms Atticism and Asianism must be so understood, though the developments through these influences were by no means confined to one department.

What is the period of this Asianism? Roughly speaking, from 300 to 100 B. C., part of which is shrouded in darkness.<sup>2</sup> ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορικὴ . . . ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα τελευτῆς ἐκπνεῖν καὶ μαραίνεισθαι κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας μικροῦ δεήσασα εἰς τέλος ἠφανίσθαι. In accordance with this, Cicero says<sup>3</sup> of Demetrius: Hic primus inflexit orationem, and Quintilian: <sup>4</sup> quin etiam Phalerea illum Demetrium, quamquam is primus inclinasse dicitur, multum ingenii habuisse et facundiae fateor. Demetrius flourished from 320 B. C. His style was ornate, luxurious, artificial.<sup>5</sup> History was more influenced by the school of Isocrates. The representative of decline in this school was the Isocratean, Calisthenes, who flourished at the time of Alexander. Omitting others, we find Asianism fully developed in Hegesias about 270 B. C., whom Strabo<sup>6</sup> wrongly calls the founder of Asianism. He was consciously opposed to Attic Oratory, though Lysianic diction can be detected in his short, choppy, oratorical style.<sup>7</sup> But in his historical works there is more splendor, more ornamentation:<sup>8</sup> τὴν ἔμμετρον καὶ ἔνρυθμον λέξιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Ἡγησίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν καλουμένων ῥητόρων.<sup>9</sup> These two styles—the pointed and choppy and the flowing and ornate—continued for two centuries, going from bad to worse. Omitting further reference to this development, we turn to the reaction in favor of Atticism, which seems to have begun with Hermagoras of Temnos about 110 B. C.<sup>10</sup> Volkmann also<sup>11</sup> furnishes abundant

<sup>1</sup> Über den Kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang und die Bedeutung der Griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit.

<sup>2</sup> V. Dionysios of Halicarnassos, De Oratoribus Antiquis I.

<sup>3</sup> Brutus, 38.

<sup>4</sup> 10. 1. 80.

<sup>5</sup> V. Cicero, Orator, 92.

<sup>6</sup> C. 648.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cicero, Brutus 286, Orat. 226, 230.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Theon, Progymnasmata, Sp. 2. 71. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dion. Hal., De Compositione, 4 and 18.

<sup>10</sup> V. Blass, Gr. Bered., p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer.

evidence that Hermagoras followed regular rhetorical divisions in his work instead of making use, like his immediate predecessors, of what came to him solely in practical experience, and that the Asianic style of oratory, which was without technical science, began to be changed first about the middle or end of the second century B. C. by Hermagoras, a technologist of the first rank, who united theory and practice in a most praiseworthy manner. Schmid<sup>1</sup> claims that the reaction originated first in the island of Rhodes and that Apollonios and Molon tried not so much to oppose Asianism as to dampen the prevailing spirit of exaggeration. In 92 B. C. L. Plotius opened a school of rhetoric in Rome, which date may mark the watershed. At that time Hortensius was the representative of Asianism in Latin, having "combined its two manners, sententious point and florid declamation." Cicero himself was partly under the influence of this school, but as representative of the Atticising style he may claim the credit of destroying the ultra Asianism of Hortensius and later of leaning toward the Attic. His inborn sense of strength and aptness made him strike a medium and avoid the extreme rigorousness of the Atticists. This success of the Romans forced the Greek writers of the time to try to shape a new prose literature. Revived Atticism proper may be said to date from Calvus, about 60 B. C., being completed, in a sense, in Dionysios of Halicarnassos and Caecilius. Of course there were various schools of Atticists, imitators of Thucydides, Xenophon, Lysias, Hyperides, Demosthenes, all of them drawing more or less from Greek literature as a whole or from certain departments of it in keeping with their style and subject of composition.

This is sufficient to show that such writers as Dio Chrysostom and Lucian could have imitated no writer after 320 B. C. But there has been no mention of Ephoros and Theopompos. Recall the fact that Callisthenes, the Isocratean, the first historical representative of Asianism, was a contemporary of Alexander. Add to this that both Ephoros and Theopompos were pupils of Isocrates, that both were contemporaries of Alexander, the latter quite a favorite. Certainly no one could contend that Ephoros and

<sup>1</sup> V. note 1, p. 2.



Theopompos were exponents of the Asianic style, but we must recognize that within two or three decades after they flourished Asianism was fully developed: such changes must come about gradually. Dionysios of Halicarnassos<sup>1</sup> says of Theopompos: *εἰ δ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐν τούτοις, ἐφ' οἷς μάλιστα ἂν ἐσπούδακε, τῆς τε συμπλοκῆς τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς κυκλικῆς εὐρυθμίας τῶν περιόδων καὶ τῆς ὁμοειδείας τῶν ὀχηματισμῶν, πολὺ ἀμείνων ἂν ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν.*<sup>2</sup> Even if it be denied that these two writers show signs of Asianism, the fact that they are ultra-Isocratean would preclude the possibility of confusing their influence with the influence of Herodotos, though they themselves may have been largely indebted to Herodotos.

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## CHAPTER II.

### GREEK AND ROMAN ESTIMATES OF HERODOTOS.

Since it is true that imitation was the main element of strength in the Renaissance, there must be a study of imitation, of the writers imitated, of the basis of imitation, of the degree and the success of imitation. Such studies have been numerous for almost every field of literary composition: after the revival was begun through the department of oratory and each of the more important orators had a considerable following, other styles of composition on other than oratorical subjects found other sources from which to draw. Much has been written of the influence of Homer, of the comic poets, of Plato. Herodotos has received little attention. The reasons for studying Herodotos in this connection are based not only upon the results to be presented in the following chapters, but also upon the opinions of classical writers themselves from the time of Aristotle through the Renaissance, including the Rhetoricians, who, by their studies and criticisms, have given many points of individuality in Herodotos worthy of imitation. Observe a few of their statements.

<sup>1</sup>Ad Cn. Pomp. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Cicero, Orat. 151.

*Aristotle's* all-important statement<sup>1</sup> is the basis of a fundamental imitation of Herodotos: τὴν δὲ λέξιν ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἢ εἰρομένην καὶ τῷ συνδέσμῳ μίαν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς διθυράμβοις ἀναβολαί, ἢ κατεστραμμένην καὶ ὁμοίαν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν ἀντιστρόφοις. ἢ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέξις ἢ ἀρχαία ἐστίν· Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἡδ' ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις· ταύτη γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἅπαντες, νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χρῶνται.

*Cicero* says:<sup>2</sup> apud Herodotum patrem historiae et apud Theopompum sunt innumerabiles fabulae; also,<sup>3</sup> tanta est eloquentia, ut me quidem, quantum ego Graece scripta intellegere possum, magno opere delectet; and,<sup>4</sup> quid enim aut Herodoto dulcius. Then he particularizes:<sup>5</sup> alter (H.) enim sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit; and,<sup>6</sup> itaque et Herodotus et eadem superiorque aetas numero caruit (this statement is contradicted by *Quintilian*). Add:<sup>7</sup> si quae veteres illi (H. et . .) apte numeroque dixerunt, ea [sic] non numero quaesito, sed verborum collocatione ceciderunt.

*Dionysius*<sup>8</sup> has much to say of Herodotos by way of comparison with *Thucydides*. After speaking of Herodotos' ὑπόθεσις and selection, he says: ἢ μὲν Ἡροδότου διάθεσις ἐν ἅσασιν ἐπιεικής, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς συνηδομένη, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς συναλγοῦσα. Again, ἢ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτήρα σφύζουσα διάλεκτος. Herodotos excels likewise in ἐνάργεια, ἡδονή, τέρψις. Add: ἀρετῶν ἢ κυριωτάτη τὸ πρέπον· ταύτην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἀκριβοῖ μάλλον ἢ Θουκυδίδης, and: διαφέρουσι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀλλήλων, ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερόν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου, and: ὕψος δὲ καὶ κάλλος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰδίως πλάσμα ἱστορικὸν Ἡρόδοτος ἔχει.<sup>9</sup>

*Strabo*<sup>10</sup> refers to Herodotos frequently and classes him as to trustworthiness with *Hesiod*, *Homer*, the tragedians.

*Pliny* cites him in many places as an authority.

*Quintilian* says:<sup>11</sup> dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus, remissis adfectibus melior, sermonibus, voluptate. Note especially:<sup>12</sup> et historiae, quae currere debet ac ferri, minus convenissent insistentes

<sup>1</sup> *Ars Rhetorica*, 3. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *De Legibus*, 1. 1. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *De Oratore*, 2. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragment*, 2. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Orator*, 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 186.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, 219.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ad Cn. Pomp.*, *Usener's* edition, pp. 50 ff., and *De Imitatione*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *De Compositione Verborum*, chs. 4 and 10.

<sup>10</sup> C. 508.

<sup>11</sup> 10. 1. 13.

<sup>12</sup> 9. 4. 18.

clausulae et debita actionibus resperatio et cludendi inchoandique sententias ratio. In Herodoto vero cum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa *διάλεκτος* habet eam jucunditatem, ut latentes etiam numeros complexa videatur: a better judgment than Cicero's. Dio Chrysostom says of Herodotos just what we should expect. It may be as well to quote here what he says of some other historians whom we shall have occasion to consider:<sup>1</sup>

Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴ ποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεύξει. Τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θουκυδίδης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος. Καὶ γὰρ ῥητορικὸν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει· καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγος περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον περὶ τὰς λέξεις οὐχ οὕτω φαῦλον, ὥστε σε λυπῆσαι. Ἐφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον.

Lucian, whom we are to study more closely, says:<sup>2</sup> Ἡροδότου εἶθε μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μιμήσασθαι δυνατὸν ἦν· οὐ πάντα φημὶ ὅσα προσῆν αὐτῷ—μείζον γὰρ εὐχῆς τοῦτο γε—ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐν ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων, οἷον ἢ κάλλος τῶν λόγων ἢ ἀρμονίαν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ τὸ προσφυὲς ἢ τῆς γνώμης τὸ περιττὸν ἢ ὅσα μυρία καλὰ ἐκείνος ἅμα πάντα συλλαβὼν ἔχει πέρα τῆς εἰς μίμησιν ἐλπίδος· ἃ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς συγγράμμασι καὶ ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν ἐν βραχεὶ κατέστη, καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ καὶ ἄλλος ἂν μιμησαίμεθα. He speaks<sup>3</sup> further of the great reputation of Herodotos.<sup>4</sup>

The Greek Rhetoricians say much more than can be quoted here. Note first a general remark:<sup>5</sup> *μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώ-  
τατος ἐγένετο.*<sup>6</sup>

Again, a general remark upon description:<sup>7</sup> *ἔκφρασις ἐστὶ λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὀψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον . . . καὶ παρ' Ἡροδότῳ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἱβίδος καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ποταμίων καὶ τῶν κροκοδείλων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.*

<sup>1</sup> Or. 18. 10.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus I (1. 831-832).<sup>3</sup> Ib., 2.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hist. 42 (2. 55); 54 (2. 64); Ver. Hist. 2. 31 (2. 127); Philops. 2 (3. 30); \*Salt. 78 (2. 310); \*De Domo 20 (3. 201); [Macrob.] 10 (3. 214).<sup>5</sup> περὶ ὧσους, Spengel 1. 262. 28.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Demetrius, περὶ ἐρμηνείας (περὶ συνθέτων ὀνομάτων), Sp. 3. 287. 6.<sup>7</sup> Theon., προγυμνάσματα (περὶ ἐκφράσεως), Sp. 2. 118. 6.

Then more particularly, beginning with Hermogenes :<sup>1</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἦν Κανδαύλης, καὶ τὸ Κροῖσος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὕτω μὲν εἰσφερόμενα κατ' ὀρθότητα καὶ καθαρὸν ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ σαφῆ, εἰ δὲ πλαγιάσαις, οὐ τοιαῦτα ἔσται, οἷον Κροίσου ὄντος καὶ Κανδαύλου ὄντος, εἰ λέγοις.<sup>2</sup>

Again :<sup>3</sup> λέξις δὲ γλυκεῖα ἢ τε τῆς ἀφελείας ἰδία παρὰ τὴν καθαρὰν ῥηθεῖσα εἶναι καὶ ἔτι ἡ ποιητικὴ. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος τῆς γλυκύτητος μάλιστα πεφροντικῶς ἐχρήσατο μὲν καὶ μεθόδοις καὶ ἐννοίαις, αἷσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐχαρακτηρίζομεν τὴν γλυκύτητα, λέξει τε ἐκάστη ἰδία μὲν τῆς ἀφελείας πολλαχοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐλέγομεν, ἐκείθεν δὲ μάλιστα διαρκῆ ἔσχε τὴν γλυκύτητα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τὴν διάλεκτον ποιητικῶς προεῖλετο εἰπεῖν.

Again :<sup>4</sup> ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς καθ' ἱστορίαν πανηγυρικοῖς πανηγυρικότατός ἐστιν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ εὐκρινοῦς πολὺς ἐστι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννοίαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις· καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου, κτλ.

Again :<sup>5</sup> an example of παρεμβολή : Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν τὸ γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλυοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μετὰ Σύρων [τε] καὶ [Παφλαγόνων].

Again :<sup>6</sup> τῶν μέντοι κῶλων καὶ κομμάτων τοιούτων συντιθεμένων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνίστανται αἱ περίοδοι ὀνομαζόμεναι. Ἔστι γὰρ περίοδος σύστημα ἐκ κῶλων ἢ κομμάτων εὐκαταστρόφων πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἀπηρτισμένον . . . ἡ δὲ τις διηρημένη ἐρμηνεία καλεῖται, ἢ εἰς κῶλα λελυμένη οὐ μάλα ἀλλήλοις συνηρημένα, ὥς ἡ Ἐκαταίου, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν Ἡροδότου, καὶ ὅλως ἡ ἀρχαία πᾶσα.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> περὶ ἰδεῶν (περὶ καθαρότητος ἢ καθαρῶν ἐννοιῶν), Sp. 2. 278. 4. [These references are in the order of occurrence in Spengel.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ib., 2. 278. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. (περὶ γλυκύτητος), 2. 362. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., 2. 421. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander, περὶ σχημάτων (περὶ παρεμβολῆς), 3. 39. 20. The example is from Hdt. 1. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Demetrius, περὶ Ἑρμηνείας (περὶ περιόδων), 3. 262. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ib., 3. 264. 20; 3. 272. 15; Hermog., 2. 238 ff.; Aristotle, A. R. 3. 9 ff.

## CHAPTER III.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM, ARRIAN, AELIAN, PHILOSTRATOS.

From the reaction in favour of the old masters, the beginning of which was described in the first chapter, the period of the Renaissance may be said to date, roughly stated, from the middle of the first century to the middle of the third. All the writers of any importance within these limits made more or less use of the old classics: some took one author for a model; some imitated slavishly one or more as they used one style or another, as they wrote upon one subject or another; some thoroughly assimilated all, and so used them more effectively. It is not for Herodotos alone that we claim influence in the Renaissance, but we would emphasize his influence, because it has not been sufficiently recognized publicly, and point out something of the nature of that influence.

While Lucian has been selected as the author for most careful study, other great writers of the Renaissance demand notice, Dio Chrysostom, Arrian, Aelian, Philostratos. Much of what I shall say of three of these writers is taken from Schmid in his *Atticismus*, and Grundmann's<sup>1</sup> study of Arrian has been helpful.

*Dio Chrysostom* is generally admitted to be the first writer of the Renaissance, and so may be noted first briefly. "Dio is not exempt from the unreality of his age, but the thought is deeper, the moral conviction more thorough, than we find in the mere 'sophist' or 'rhetorician' of the Greek Renaissance, and his orations or, better, 'essays' are something more than rhetorical exercises. His style is clear and fluent, *he is a good story-teller*,<sup>2</sup> and his Atticism, though not the success it was once held to be, is more than respectable."<sup>3</sup> Philostratos<sup>4</sup> says of him, that he has taken the best from the best. He is decidedly in opposition to the Asianic style in choice of subject, in aversion to excitement and pathos, in careful cultivation of classic models. As a statesman he naturally attached much importance to the old historians, to Herodotos in particular. Dio's

<sup>1</sup> *Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodoto debeatur*, Berlin, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Gildersleeve in Johnson's *Cyclopaedia*.

<sup>4</sup> V. S. 2. 6. 30 (Teubner).

own estimate of Herodotos has been quoted in Chapter II.<sup>1</sup> Cobet<sup>2</sup> says: nullum alium scriptorem Dio diligentius lectitavit quam Herodotum, cujus ubique apud eum sunt vestigia. Schmid<sup>3</sup> says that Dio allows some Ionisms. He also says<sup>4</sup> that when Dio narrates, as at the beginning of Or. 7, he has a plain, simple sentence-position with many coordinate clauses joined by particles; but when he is sententious or philosophic, he has a more periodic style. In this connection Schmid calls Plato a master in the use of particles, and so he is; but all recognize that the use of particles in these late writers is not wholly dependent upon Plato. It will be one of my main points that the use of coördinate clauses joined by coördinate particles, especially in narrative passages, is due to the influence of the one master in such prose composition, Herodotos. This influence is claimed for Dio, though not to the same extent as in some others. Being earlier than Lucian and a man of less ability, in a sense, Dio is naturally more mechanical in his imitation of Herodotos and sometimes copies almost literally. Some words that Schmid gives from the use of Herodotos are:<sup>5</sup> ἀτρεμίζειν, 1. 17. 29, Teubner Text (or. 1. 70); ἐκβράσσομαι, 1. 120. 31 (7. 239); ἤκω used as Hdt. 1. 30: Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὐήκοις παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί; λευστήρ, 1. 46. 20 (3. 113), from an oracle of Hdt. 5. 67; ῥύομαι, 1. 51. 13 (3. 124); συστροφή, 1. 11. 31 (1. 61); ὑπερλυπείσθαι, 1. 322. 9 (29. 53). Dio uses by the side of the regular forms of οἶδα such forms as οἶδας, 1. 22. 7; οἶδαμεν, 1. 43. 23 (3. 109), cf. Hdt. 2. 17, 4. 16; οἶδατε, 1. 371. 10 (31. 608); οἶδασι, 1. 305. 5 (23. 511), cf. Hdt. 2. 43. Here, as elsewhere, enters in the question of the κοινή, for these forms are found in the New Testament. From τυγχάνω we find τέτευχε, etc., 1. 346. 31 (31. 569), by the side of τετύχηκε, cf. Hdt. 3. 40.<sup>6</sup> The favorite substantivized neuter adjective begins with Herodotos.<sup>7</sup> As to subject-matter, Dio has frequently drawn from Herodotos, examples of which will be given in connection with Lucian. But we may quote here the story of

<sup>1</sup> V. Or. 18. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Mnem., N. S., 5. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Att. 3. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Att. 1. 178.

<sup>5</sup> Att. 1. 145.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schmid, Att. 1. 84 ff.

<sup>7</sup> V. Stein to Hdt. 1. 58, 86, 97, etc.

Croesus and Alcmaeon as given by the two.<sup>1</sup> Note the language, the particles, the conjunctions, the participles.

*Herodotos.*

ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον πολλὸν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τοὺς εὗρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἥϊε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο, ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρει οἱ κόθορνοι· μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξῆιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγισ τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεφ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ. τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλωσ ἐσῆλθε.

*Dio.*

οὐδέ γε τὸν λαβόντα παρὰ Κροῖσου τὴν δωρεὰν ἐκείνον Ἀλκμέωνα ἐζήλωσεν οὔτε Σόλων οὔτε ἄλλος οὔδεις τῶν τότε σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, ᾧ φασι τὸν Λυδὸν ἐπιτρέψαι τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξαντα φέρειν αὐτὸν ὅποσον βούλεται τοῦ χρυσοῦ. καὶ τὸν εἰσελθόντα πᾶν ἀνδρείως ἐμφορήσασθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς δωρεᾶς, χιτῶνά τε ποδήρη καταζωσάμενον καὶ τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντα . . . . καὶ τὰς γνάθους ἐκατέρας μόλις ἔξω βαδίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐλοῦντα τὴν τῆς Σεμέλης ὠδίναν, γέλωτα καὶ θέαν Κροίσῳ παρέχοντα καὶ Λυδοῖς.

Schmid<sup>2</sup> gives Plato and Xenophon first place as regards evident influence over Dio in *ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων*, but compare Dio 1. 260. 11 with Hdt. 1. 7, especially Dio 1. 277. 6 with Hdt. 1. 66, where the matter corresponds and an entire line of an oracle given by Herodotos is quoted by Dio, Dio 1. 275. 6 ff., with Hdt. 1. 159, Dio 1. 419. 15, with Hdt. 1. 202, Dio 2. 47. 16, with Hdt. 3. 102, Dio 2. 213. 13, with Hdt. 1. 84.

*Arrian.* Schmid does not consider Arrian in his study of the Renaissance, possibly because Arrian has been generally recognized as an imitator of Xenophon; possibly because the work had been

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 6. 125; Dio 2. 280. 32 (78. 425).

<sup>2</sup> Att. 1. 147.

done by Grundmann. Many scholars who wrote about Arrian and Xenophon also claimed incidentally for Thucydides, and especially for Herodotos, an influence over Arrian.<sup>1</sup> But Grundmann goes further and claims more dependence upon Herodotos than upon Xenophon.<sup>2</sup> Omitting for the present Grundmann's remark about the dialect, we note: Saepius eum in rebus geographicis laudat, ut Herodotum ab eo diligentissime pervestigatum esse cognoscamus. In elocutione autem Arrianum secutum esse Herodotum. This latter statement he discusses in three chapters:

De verborum ubertate ac quodam genere pleonasmī, quod ei cum Herodoto commune est;

Deinde de ratione enuntiatorum conjungendorum, quae multis locis propius accedit ad Herodoti genus dicendi, quod λέξιν εἰρομένην dicimus; quocum cohaeret quaedam elocutionis negligentia utriusque propria;

Denique de ionismis, qui extant apud Arrianum in usu pronominum, praepositionum, particularum; ad quod adiciam nonnullas structuras, locutiones, vocabula, quae apud utrumque singularia inveniuntur.

In the first chapter numerous examples are given of different kinds of pleonasm: (1) the force of an adjective increased by an added substantive, as *μεγέθει μέγας*, Hdt. 1. 51, Arr. 5. 19. 5, etc.; (2) the notion of the compound verb expressed more accurately by the addition of the adverb used in composition, as *ἐκφέρειν ἔξω*, Hdt. 3. 16.; (3) a preposition or verb more fully explained by an adverb signifying the same thing, as Hdt. 4. 201. *ἔθειον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος*, 4. 168. *ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι*; (4) the same word repeated two or three times recalling the same person or thing, as Arr. 4. 22. 2 *καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς κρατερᾶς νικῶσιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερον τῇ μάχῃ*, also the repetition of proper names, as Arr. 1. 29. 1 *καὶ ἀφικνέεται ἐς Κελαινὰς πεμπταῖος ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν*, also a verb and a participle, as Hdt. 5. 95. *Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς—αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει*; (5) add the repetition of certain particles pleonastically, as *δέ, μέν, καί*; (6) in seeking to make their writing easily understood, both

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jahres. 34. 180 ff. for reviews of a number of these. V. Grundmann also.

<sup>2</sup>V. reviews in Jahres. 38. 275 and Phil. Anz. 15. 223.



Herodotos and Arrian are not afraid to use enough words in their sentence-building to emphasize different clauses and separate clearly protasis from apodosis: many particles are suitable for this purpose: οὕτω or οὕτω δὴ is common after a clause, after a genitive absolute, as Hdt. 8. 23. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν οὕτω δὴ ἄμα ἡλίφ σκιδναμένφ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἔπλωε, after a conjunctive participle, after a parenthetic clause with γάρ, after an accusative absolute, etc.: ἐνταῦθα is used in the same way, and τότε in the apodosis, τότε δὴ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, πρὸς ταῦτα, πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν, τοιγαρῶν: especially noteworthy here is the use of δέ in the apodosis after personal pronouns, as Hdt. 3. 37. δς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὅπωπε, ἐγὼ δὲ σημαίνω, after the article used as a demonstrative; (7) the repetition of several words, or épanalepsis, to make the language plainer and more easily understood, as Hdt. 4. 76. ὡς ἀπίκετο (sc. Ἀνάχαρσις) ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην (ἡ δ' ἔστι—πλήη), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδύς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὁρτὴν ἐπετέλεε: there are various kinds of this épanalepsis too numerous to mention here; (8) the use of short clauses to conclude a narrative before beginning something else, introduced especially by οὕτω δὴ, as Hdt. 4. 153. οὕτω δὴ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατείαν, also by ὦδε; (9) note finally the use of the third person of the imperative, as Hdt. 1. 92. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. Similar examples are cited in great numbers by Grundmann and can be seen on almost every page of both Herodotos and Arrian.

The second chapter is but a continuation of the first: here again is evidence of an abundance of words, an abundance acquired in the same way, by the use of particles, many of them the same. λέξις εἰρομένη is coördination where particles abound, such as δέ, καί, τέ, τέ . . . καί, γάρ, ἀλλὰ γάρ, οὖν(ῶν), where one clause seems to be joined to another as if added by chance. Details and examples may be omitted here, as this construction will be carefully studied in the chapters on Lucian. Suffice it to say, that Arrian is very close to Herodotos at this point.

These two agree also in their use of anacoluthon, as Hdt. 5. 37., where the μὲν clause has a participle and the corresponding δέ clause a finite verb: μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τωὐτὸ τωὐτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβε

τυράννους. The particle *ἥ* is used in the same way, also οὐ—ἀλλά. Again, eadem ratio est, si ad appositionem adicitur enuntiatum, as Hdt. 2. 134. Ῥοδῶπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρητικής, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος. Note in this connection the expression *τά τε ἄλλα καί* used for the more common Attic *ἄλλως τε καί*, as Hdt. 1. 193. τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι *τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων*—τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι *τῇσι βαλανηφόροις*. Other forms of *ἄλλος* are used. Again, there is marked freedom in shifting from Oratio Obliqua to Oratio Recta and vice versa: both Herodotos and Arrian furnish many interesting and varied examples. Finally, Grundmann gives a number of unclassified examples from both in which a sentence is left apparently unfinished, though it is really continued with a changed construction, as Hdt. 8. 87. καὶ ἥ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι,—ἔδοξε οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι. A note of warning is sounded here which must be heeded everywhere, that all these constructions are not confined to Herodotos among the old masters, for Thucydides and Plato especially have them, one of whom has preserved many other things from the diction of Herodotos, and the other on account of the dialogue form is nearer Herodotos in his language. However, a summary of the evidence plainly proves that Arrian imitates Herodotos in the above mentioned particulars.

Inasmuch as the title of Grundmann's third chapter already cited is full and self-explanatory, and as Arrian's Ionism is generally recognized as an imitation of Herodotos, and as the important constructions which might be mentioned here must be discussed later, comment at this point is unnecessary. We may quote from Dr. Allinson,<sup>1</sup> who studies Arrian's *Historia Indica* in connection with Lucian's *De Dea Syria* and *De Astrologia*: "Of the three pieces now under consideration the *Historia Indica* presents the fewest difficulties. As it is transmitted as genuine, the investigation is not complicated by the question of authorship. Arrian's Ionism also more closely resembles the usage of Herodotos. . . . Did he intend a thorough imitation of Herodotos?"

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century, A. D., *American Journal of Philology*, 7. 203 ff.

It may be assumed provisionally that he did." "The motif, then, however superficially carried out, was a desire to revive the style, selection of matter, and treatment of Herodotos, as well as his dialect." "But the imitation of matter is more successful than that of the manner."

*Aelian* and *Philostratos* mark the beginning of a general break-down. They close the Renaissance. In them more than in any others, except possibly *Arrian*, is evident the influence of Herodotos.

Again reserving details for the more careful study of *Lucian*, we may give here some of *Schmid's* conclusions about *Aelian*. His style is the *λέξις εἰρομένη*, he abounds in intentional anacolutha as *Arrian* in his effort to copy Herodotos, like Herodotos and *Arrian* he makes use of parataxis which leads to *ἀφέλεια*, he shows dependence upon Herodotos especially by the frequent insertion of parentheses or supplementary additions of shorter syntactic independent explanations. In accordance with this statement we expect and find a large proportion of Herodotean particles, as *ἀλλὰ γάρ, γὰρ δὲ, γὰρ οὖν, γέ δὲ, δέ* in the conclusion after foregoing conditional, relative, and temporal clauses, *καί* with such words as *πάνυ, μάλα, σφόδρα, κάρτα*, etc., with or without the article,<sup>1</sup> *καί* between the preposition and its noun, etc. Attention will be called to the marked abundance of parenthetical words and expressions.

The Ionic dialect gives pleasantness, *ἀφέλεια, γλυκύτης*, as may easily be seen by stripping off the dialect from some of Herodotos as *Dionysius* has done.<sup>2</sup> We have learned from the passage in *Quintilian* already quoted that the dialect of Herodotos has such sweetness that it appears to contain within it some latent rhythmical power. In the Renaissance this effect began to be striven after by *Arrian* and was continued by *Aelian* and *Philostratos*. After allowing due credit to the *κοινή* for such forms as *γίνομαι, γινώσκω*, etc., the general Ionic tendency as seen in *Aelian* may be rightly traced to the influence of Herodotos. *Schmid* gives as conscious Ionisms in vocalization the use of (η)

<sup>1</sup> V. Stein to Hdt. 1. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. Hal., De Admir. Vi Dicendi in Demosth. 41.

for (α) in *θρήσσα, πέτηλον, Ἰουλιήτης, κρησφύγετον*; (ου) for (ο) in *οὔλος, μουνάξ, οὔνομα*; (ει) for (ε) in *μειλιχθῆναι, μείλιγμα, μειλίχιος*; also forms of the personal pronouns of the third person in the function of the simple *αὐτός*, in the singular only *οἱ* for *αὐτῷ* and in the plural *σφῶν, σφίσι, σφᾶς* reflexive and reciprocal.

Three principal sources for words in Aelian and the Renaissance generally are claimed: Comedy, Plato, Xenophon. Schmid says Aelian has taken from the poets 861 words, from Plato 78, from Xen. 71, from Herodotos 52, from Thuc. 27, from Dem. 11. This proportion will answer for the whole Renaissance as far as language is concerned. A few words and expressions from Hdt. are: *βάλλομαί τι ἐπ' ἐμᾶυτοῦ*,<sup>1</sup> *ἐθελοκακέω, ἐκπλέω τῶν φρενῶν, πολὺς* used adjectivally instead of adverbially, also imitated by Arrian, free use of *ἐκείνος* referring to the following, and less frequently *ὅδε* to the foregoing.

Finally, we see how powerfully Aelian was influenced by Herodotos in a similar effort to produce an impression of credibility, to give clear evidence of what he writes and the source of his representations, to discriminate between what he knows and what he thinks or hears. This he strives for by frequent references, by accentuation of verbal information, by frequent citations, by appeal to evident national traditions, by intimations of criticism of his sources.<sup>2</sup> *πέπυσμαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, εἰ δὲ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδα. ὃ δ' οὖν πέπυσμαι, ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶν.*

*Philostratos.* Nearly everything that has been said of Aelian may be said of Philostratos. There is *λέξις εἰρομένη* but with *anacolutha* of a different kind, long periods being rare; the same abundance of parenthetic words and expressions. Ionisms, too, present the same difficulties, but Schmid gives as clearly Ionic *δειρή, Νηρηίς*, the genitives *νηός* and *νηῶν*, *Γοργεῖη κεφαλὴ, Ξεῖνις, εὐξείνος, Θειοδάμας, μείλισσομαι, ἀναπλῶσαι, πλωτός*, etc., in addition to some of the same given for Aelian.

He, too, has 52 words from Herodotos and uses other authors' language much in the same proportion as Aelian. As Herodotean

<sup>1</sup> V. Stein to Hdt. 3. 71. and 3. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VH. 53. 21.

expressions, note τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐκ οἶδα;<sup>1</sup> δηλώσαι βούλομαι;<sup>2</sup> ἐγὼ δηλώσω;<sup>3</sup> etc.

Special mention may be made of the use of the third attributive position, as ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν;<sup>4</sup> of the frequent use of the absolute nominative. Philostratos uses this construction much more frequently than Aelian. An example may be given from Arrian, who here again follows his master Herodotos: οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ ἐν τῇ ὁμαλῇ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ . . . ὀρθίους ποιήσαντες τοὺς λόχους Πτολεμαῖος προσήγεν.<sup>5</sup> Note also πρὸς with the genitive, which is especially common in Hdt. and his imitator, Arrian.<sup>6</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### LUCIAN.—Λέξις εἰρομένη.

Lucian's motto is:<sup>7</sup> δυοῖν δὲ ὄντοι, ἅττ' ἂν παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τις κτήσαιο, λέγειν τε δύνασθαι καὶ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα ζήλω τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ φυγῇ τῶν χειρόνων.

As the Renaissance was a revival, a reconstruction, the literature of the period must have been more or less an imitation, but it was entirely possible for a gifted man so thoroughly to master the ancient classics, so minutely and sympathetically to acquaint himself with them, and so completely to assimilate them, that he could at the same time be following them and not be guilty of slavish imitation. This happy faculty combined with refreshing originality belongs to Lucian and makes it difficult to find definite trace of Herodotos or any one else in him.

More work has been done along the line of Lucian's dependence upon the comic poets than elsewhere. There is more or less mention of this dependence by all Lucianic scholars, and a number of special works on it. Rabasti<sup>8</sup> claims that Lucian is

<sup>1</sup> E. 229. 13.

<sup>2</sup> V. S. 28. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 77. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Phil., Ap. 34. 12, V. Schmid, Att. 4. 67, and for the construction in Hdt., Gildersleeve's Justin Martyr, 1 C. 6. 7.

<sup>5</sup> 4. 5. 1. cf. Hdt. 8. 83. V. Schmid, Att. 4. 113.

<sup>6</sup> V. Schmid, Att. 4. 465.

<sup>7</sup> Adv. Indoct. 17 (3. 114).

<sup>8</sup> Quid Comicis Debuerit Lucianus, 1865.

under much obligation to the comic writers not only in material, but also in form and in the manner of speaking. He has a chapter entitled, *Quomodo in rerum dispositione comicos secutus fuerit Lucianus*; and another, *Quid in genere dicendi simile comicos habuerit Lucianus*.<sup>1</sup> Kock,<sup>2</sup> too, has treated this subject and by his own correct method of recovering lost verses of poetry from several parallel quotations, has restored a number of fragments of comic poets, some to the extent of 40 lines. "In Lucian's *Timon* the expressions are largely drawn from a comedy of the character of Aristophanes' *Plutus*." So also others. Not only comic poets are to be considered here, for there is also marked influence by the tragedians and especially by Homer. This indicates one of the many complications surrounding the study of Lucian's dependence upon Herodotus, for Herodotus himself must be connected with the poets.<sup>3</sup>

As is natural, signs of Plato are abundant in the dialogue, as: *ἦ δ' ὅς.*<sup>4</sup> There are many Platonic short expressions and questions, especially in Charon, as: *τί δαὶ τοῦτο ἦν* and *πῶς γὰρ οὐ;*<sup>5</sup> add *εὐφήμεί, ἄνθρωπε.*<sup>6</sup> And even here we cannot get rid of the popular speech.

Schmid has given us a study of Lucian's atticisms. But of his dependence upon individual authors, nothing has been said except in a general way. Lucian's fondness for Plato offers abundant results. In fact, here is another serious complication, for Plato was strongly influenced by both tragedy and comedy, and abounds in particles of all kinds.<sup>7</sup> His works are something of a universal storehouse and often exert an influence that might be attributed to Herodotus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zeigler, *De Luciano Poetarum Judice et Imitatore*, 1872; also Schulze, *Quae Ratio Intercedat inter Lucianum et Comicos Graecorum Poetas*, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Rhein. Mus. XLIII, pp. 29-59, a continuation of his article in *Hermes* XXI (1886), p. 372 ff.: for the review of these, v. Amer. Jour. Phil., 10, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Förstemann, *De Vocabulis Quae Videntur Esse apud Herodotum Poeticis*, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> Kühner and Bernhardt, *Wiss. Synt.*, p. 306 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Luc., Charon, 6 (1. 497), 12 (1. 505): this whole section is decidedly Platonic in character.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plat. Protag. 330 D.

<sup>7</sup> Bernhardt, *Wiss. Synt.*, p. 486.

There has been no effort to establish the influence of Herodotos upon Lucian, though many scholars have believed in it and have given hints of their belief. Croiset<sup>1</sup> says: *Hérodote me paraît être celui dont il a lu les oeuvres le plus assidument. On voit, par divers passages de ses écrits, qu'il a vivement senti et admiré ses grandes qualités littéraires, la beauté de son style à la fois si varié et si uni, cette grace ionienne qui lui est propre, la sagesse et le tour heureux de ses réflexions. Le souvenir très-vif qu'il a gardé de certaines scènes ou de certains événements racontés par le grand historien atteste qu'il n'était pas moins sensible à la forme dramatique de ses récits et à la grandeur simple de son imagination. In a note he says: Je signale surtout le premier paragraphe de l'Hérodote, où Lucien se prononce d'une manière décidée sur l'impossibilité d'imiter ces qualités si originales et si diverses dont la réunion constitue un genre de perfection que chacun sent, mais qu'il est difficile d'analyser. L'influence du style d' Hérodote sur celui de Lucien ne me paraît pas non plus douteuse. In a second note: On peut voir notamment dans le Charon (9-13) l'imitation abrégée de l'entrevue de Crésus et de Solon, et, dans la suite du même dialogue, les allusions aux récits relatifs à Cyrus et à Tomyris, à Cambyse, à Polycrate. Such remarks furnish confidence for this study.*

The statement that Herodotos' style is the perfection of *λέξις εἰρομένη* demands explanation, if we would understand his style and its influence. What is *λέξις εἰρομένη*? To what extent does Hdt. excel in this style and in other styles? Does Lucian use the same style to any extent? If so, does he use it through the influence of Hdt.?

Aristotle, in the passage cited in Chapter II, continues: *λέγω δὲ εἰρομένην ἢ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὐτήν, ἀν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. ἔστι δὲ ἀηδὴς διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον, τὸ γὰρ τέλος πάντες βούλονται καθορᾶν.* The rhetoricians could not improve on this. Compare with this Krüger's<sup>2</sup> definition of parataxis: a combination where clauses stand together without interdependence, either syndetically by means of conjunctions or asyndetically by mere juxta-position. Müller<sup>3</sup> strikes the true note in describing

<sup>1</sup> Vie et Oeuvres de Lucien, 1882, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Sprach. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, Donaldson's Translation, I, p. 362.

the style of Herodotos: "The character of his style (as is natural in mere narration) is to connect the different sentences loosely together, with many phrases for the purpose of introducing, recapitulating or repeating a subject. These phrases are characteristic of oral discourse. . . . In this, as in other respects, the language of Hdt. closely approximates oral narrative; of all varieties of prose, it is furthest removed from a written style." The different members are not related to one another as principal and subordinate, but as coördinates, sentences with *καί(τε)*—*καί*, *μέν*—*δέ*, *ἢ(πότερον)*—*ἢ*, etc. Blass<sup>1</sup> says that pure *λέξις εἰρομένη* was never actually in existence, that Hdt. was on the border line between the accumulation process and the process of closer connection as seen in Attic prose. Herodotos, then, is the best prose representative of *λέξις εἰρομένη*, which means that his narrative is marked by the purest simplicity, by the most natural manner of speaking, by coördination effected by coördinate particles, if you please, by syndetic parataxis, that his style has a charm and sweetness rarely found elsewhere, and not that his writings are deficient in the purest art.

There are very few statements of scholars to justify a connection between Lucian and Herodotos in the use of parataxis. Lucian uses it, of course, as does every other Greek writer, more or less. Schmid<sup>2</sup> says that the inclination to parataxis (a mark of *ἀφέλεια*) is especially strong in Lucian's *Asinus*. Schmid also quotes from *Toxaris*:<sup>3</sup> *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τρεῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν*. Both of these pieces are spurious, but they fall within the Renaissance and can be counted here, and *Toxaris* was proved spurious only by being proved too close an imitation of Lucian.<sup>4</sup> However, this study is confined to those confessedly Lucian's, the number of which is much curtailed if we accept only those allowed by Bekker, Diindorf, Sommerbrodt and more recent editors. The Ionic piece, *De Dea Syria*, furnishes better examples of Herodotean characteristics than any other, but that deserves a separate treatment. Whoever be its author, no one can deny that it is an intentional imitation of Herodotos. Such a claim is not set up for Lucian in general.

<sup>1</sup>Att. Bered. I, pp. 133 ff.<sup>2</sup>Att. 1. 422.<sup>3</sup>62 (2. 556).<sup>4</sup>Guttentag, *De Subdito Qui inter Lucianos Legi Solet Dialogo Toxaride*.



Though there was a conscious effort to follow the best writers, there was no effort to adopt any writer's style, diction, or syntax. However, in the effort to assimilate all the earlier classics and his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, the elements of his composition must at times appear undigested, the company he kept must tell. In speaking of his "use or misuse of the negative," Prof. Gildersleeve<sup>1</sup> says: "Now, Lucian was a careful student of attic Greek, . . . so that it could hardly have been absolute heedlessness of the earlier usage; and, indeed, we find him every now and then reverting to the classic norm. The explanation is to be sought in the popular speech of the time. Lucian, man of the world as he was, avoided all affectation and followed the drift of the spoken language so far as it was not rude or solecistic." This explanation must be considered in all departments of the study.

We naturally look for the influence of Herodotos in narrative pieces, so we should expect better result from Philopseudes, True Histories, etc., though we are by no means confined to these. The beginning of a narrative passage in Charon, for example,<sup>2</sup> furnishes a good example of coördination by the use of *καί*: *ὁρῶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ λίμνην τινὰ μεγάλην περιρρέουσιν καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμούς τοῦ Κωκυτοῦ καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντος μείζοντας καὶ ἀνθρώπους πάνυ μικροὺς καὶ τινὰς φωλεοὺς αὐτῶν*. Similar sentences and sentences coördinated in other ways, as by *μέν* and *δέ*, abound in Lucian's narrative pieces.<sup>3</sup> *ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθεν καθεωρῶμεν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐφαίνοντο ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ νῆσοι πλησίον, αἱ μὲν μείζους, αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι, πυρὶ τὴν χροάν προσεοικυῖαι, καὶ ἄλλη δέ τις γῆ κάτω καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμούς ἔχουσα καὶ πελάγη καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὄρη*. These conjunctions are supplemented by other particles and by participles: *πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν πάλαι παρ' ἡμῖν ἑωρακότες, οἳ δὲ καὶ προσήεσαν καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ὡς ἂν καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς καὶ κατακοιμίσαντες πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ δεξιῶς ἐξένιζον, τὴν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῇ*

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. 1, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> 6 (1. 497).

<sup>3</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 10 (2. 78); cf. Ver. Hist. 1. 8 (2. 76); 1. 25 (2. 90); 1. 25 (2. 91); 1. 31 (2. 95); 1. 34 (2. 97); 2. 30 (2. 127); 2. 33 (2. 129); Char. 16 (1. 512); Philops. 7 (3. 36); 22 (3. 50).

κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσῃν καὶ σατράπας.<sup>1</sup> The presence of τε—καί in this sentence is another suggestion of Hdt. τε is, of course, frequently used by others, but Grundmann<sup>2</sup> says that it is peculiar to Hdt. and his imitators to add a new thought or to elaborate an old one by means of τε: ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεός.<sup>3</sup> Compare the following from Lucian: τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου μηκέτι φέρων ἐγὼ τὴν ἐν τῷ κῆτει δίαιταν ἀχθόμενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανὴν τινα ἐξήτουν. . . . ἐπαναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλίσάμενοι—νημερία γὰρ ἦν—τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν.<sup>4</sup> Note also in the last passage the participles and the parenthetic γάρ (v. below). Add another sentence from Lucian: ἔνθα δὴ καὶ καθεωρῶμεν λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πᾶσαν ἀκλύστους καὶ μεγάλους ποταμούς τε διανγείς ἐξίοντας ἡρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ἔτι δὲ λειμῶνας καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὄρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡϊόνων ἄδοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων· ἀήρ τε κοῦφος καὶ εὐπνοὺς περιεκέχυντο τὴν χώραν.<sup>5</sup> Again, Grundmann<sup>6</sup> calls attention to the frequency of ἄμα in this connection in Hdt., and to the use by Hdt. and Arrian of τά τε ἄλλα καί for the more usual ἄλλως τε καί, though the latter is not wanting. Sommerbrodt, commenting on ἄμα τε οὖν ἐπιτηδεΐα ἐδόκει ἡμέρα τέχνης ἐνάρχεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ παρεδεδόμην . . . ,<sup>7</sup> calls attention to the parataxis and its frequency with ἄμα. As examples of Lucian's use of τά τε ἄλλα καί note the following: . . . διηγούμεθα ἐλθόντες τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἀμπελομιξίαν;<sup>8</sup> and . . . τά τε ἄλλα ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ ὅθεν εἴη. Compare a passage already cited: τὴν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῇ κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσῃν καὶ σατράπας. Finally, Herodotos uses δέ in the conclusion almost constantly.<sup>9</sup> It was a rare licence with other old writers, but Lucian, like Herodotos, has made the licence the rule. He

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ver. Hist. 2. 34 (2. 130).<sup>2</sup> P. 36.<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 1. 31.<sup>4</sup> Ver. Hist. 2. 1 (2. 104), 2. 2 (2. 105).<sup>5</sup> Ver. Hist. 2. 5 (2. 108).<sup>6</sup> Pp. 38, 47.<sup>7</sup> Luc. Somm. 3 (1. 5); cf. Timon 20 (1. 130).<sup>8</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 9 (1. 77); 2. 20 (1. 117); cf. Hoffmann, De Particularum Non-nullarum apud Herodotum Usu, p. 32.<sup>9</sup> Cf. Sagawe, δέ im Nachsatz bei Herodotos, 1893.

uses it after participles, conjunctions, relative pronouns, etc. *ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα νύξ γένηται, ὃ δὲ καταβὰς . . . περίεισιν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκίαν. . . .* And ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν Δαίδαλον ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πτεροῖς . . . οὗτοι δὲ ἀσφαλῶς διέσπῃσαν.<sup>1</sup>

Kalinka<sup>2</sup> says that Hdt. is especially partial to γάρ, frequently using it where we should expect a relative clause. Its frequency, he claims, is due to parataxis. Grundmann, too, p. 42, emphasizes the paratactic association of γάρ. Its frequency is not, of course, confined to Hdt. among the ancient classics. Plato is very fond of it, but his numbers would be very much diminished if we left out of the count all such expressions as ἡ γάρ, πῶς γὰρ οὐ. Hoffmann, p. 19, goes to the extent of denying that Herodotos' use of γάρ is any different from the common use. But no one who has read Hdt., or what the best scholars have to say of him, can deny that the Herodotean γάρ is decidedly paratactic, whether it merely affirms a certainty or assigns a cause. If the Herodotean freedom and ease is lacking in Lucian, we have abundant evidence of coördination by means of γάρ in preference to subordination, and there is a constant use of parenthetical γάρ, a special favorite with Hdt. οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' αὐτόν φημι, τὸν διαδούμενον τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ ταινίᾳ, τὸν καλόν, Πολυκλείτου γὰρ τοῦτο ἔργον.<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν τὸ μεираκίῳ, ἀτασθάλῳ γὰρ ἦστην, δίκας ἐτίσάτην· νῦν δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα βουλευόμεν—τί οὐχὶ οἰκοδομοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπικυλινδοῦντες ἐπάλληλα τὰ ὄρη. . . .<sup>4</sup> ὦ ξένη Ἀθηναῖε, εἶδες γὰρ μου τὸν πλοῦτον<sup>5</sup> . . . εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κροῖσε, οἷε γὰρ τι δεῖσθαι τῶν πλίνθων τούτων τὸν Πύθιον;<sup>6</sup> τούτους ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐθεασάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο. διόπερ οὐδὲ γράψαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησα· τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἄπιστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο.<sup>7</sup> All these are fair examples of Herodotean γάρ. Nor are they isolated examples. Lucian's narrative pieces are full of such. To give some idea of the frequency of γάρ, the True Histories (44 pp.) have 100 examples, or 2.5 per Teubner page; Philo-

<sup>1</sup> Philops. 19 (3. 47) and Imag. 21 (2. 480); cf. Philops. 15 (3. 43), De Domo 15 (3. 198), Charid. 10 (3. 624), 17 (3. 628).

<sup>2</sup> Dissertationes Philologiae Vindobonenses, 2. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Philops. 18 (3. 46); cf. ib. 12 (3. 40), 15 (3. 43).

<sup>4</sup> Char. 3 (1. 494).

<sup>5</sup> Char. 10 (3. 502) (cf. Hdt. 1. 30).

<sup>6</sup> Ib. 12 (505).

<sup>7</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 13 (2. 81).

pseudes (23 pp.) has 55, or 2.4 per Teubner page. There is no discrimination in these figures, but I have noted no example of what might be called a Platonic γάρ. In Charon, where the average is even higher, 2.6, or 46 occurrences to 18 pp., one might cite a few instances of certain Platonic γάρ, naturally when we consider that it is largely dialogue. In all these we find many occurrences of γάρ closely following one another, often 5 or 6 to the page, which is in keeping with simple narrative in a paratactic style. And, what is more to the point, we find combinations of γάρ with all kinds of particles such as are peculiarly Herodotean, as καὶ γάρ (9 times in Ver. Hist. part 1, of 22 pp.), μὲν γάρ, γὰρ δὴ, etc., whereas there is a noticeable absence of those combinations peculiarly Platonic (ἢ γάρ occurs once in Ver. Hist.). These points gather strength from the further point already made and emphasized by Kühner, Kalinka and others about Herodotos' frequent use of γάρ in parenthetical sentences. This practice is very prevalent in Lucian and undoubtedly comes from familiarity with Hdt., as can be seen by a glance at the examples and by the fact that the examples are most numerous in narrative pieces. εὐρίσκω δὲ αὐτόθι τὸν μὲν Λεόντιχον οὐκέτι—ἐφθάκει γάρ, ὡς ἔφασκεν, ὀλίγον προ-εξεληλυθώς—ἄλλους δὲ συχνοῦς. . . .<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἱστορεῖν εἶχον—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπεπόνθειν ἀξιόλογον—ἐπὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐτραπόμην. . . .<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ Φαέθων, φησὶν, ὁ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ κατοικούντων βασιλεὺς—οἰκεῖται γὰρ δὴ κακείνος ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη—πολὺν ἤδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμεῖ χρόνον.<sup>3</sup> . . . ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ λαβόντες—ἐπελελοίπει γὰρ ἤδη—καὶ δύο ταύρους ἀγρίους κατατοξεύσαντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν.<sup>4</sup> Add an analogous sentence without γάρ: ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ δικαστήριον ἐγενόμην—παρὴν δὲ καὶ ὁ Αἰακὸς καὶ ὁ Χάρων καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ αἱ Ἑρινύες—ὁ μὲν τις ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ Πλούτων μοι δοκεῖ καθήστο ἐπιλεγόμενος τῶν τεθνηξομένων τὰ ὀνόματα.<sup>5</sup>

Δή is another Herodotean particle used by him with great frequency, a claim which cannot be made for the earlier Attics,

<sup>1</sup> Philops. 6 (3. 34); cf. the same section; *ib.* 14 (3. 41).

<sup>2</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 4 (2. 72).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1. 12 (2. 79); cf. *ib.* 1. 36 (2. 100).

<sup>4</sup> Ver. Hist. 2. 3 (2. 106).

<sup>5</sup> Philops. 25 (3. 53). For confirmations of this usage for Lucian, v. Guttentag, p. 38, and Schwidop, *Observat. Luc.* I, 22 ff.

according to Kalinka, though its use does become somewhat freer, as in Plato. Lucian makes free use of *δή* and generally joins it with paratactic particles, *καί*, *γάρ*, etc., a practice peculiar to Hdt. and rare in most ancient Attics. Notwithstanding the fact that here, too, Schmid in his study of Dio and Lucian constantly refers to Xen. and Plato, I make bold to claim in narrative, at least, a larger influence of Hdt., and for three reasons. 1. Because it is more frequent in narrative pieces. We find in Timon (25 pp.) only three examples of *δή*, whereas in True Histories we find in the two parts of 22 pp. each, 12 and 24 examples respectively. 2. Because it is nearly always used with particles. Of the examples noted in 25 pp. of Plato's Republic, less than one-third are combined with particles, but in Hdt. and in Lucian's True Histories more than three-fourths are in combination with particles. 3. Because it is much more frequent in Herodotean combinations than in Platonic. In Plato we note such combinations as *πῶς δή*, *νῦν δή*, which are not found in Lucian's narrative, nor in any of the pieces examined. But Lucian's fondness for *καὶ δή*, *μὲν δή*, *γὰρ δή* is very marked, and all of these, Kalinka correctly says, are Herodotean. In the same 25 pp. of Plato, out of 45 occurrences of *δή*, there are two examples of *καὶ δή* in the combination *καὶ δή καί*, as against 9 examples in Lucian's True Histories. *καὶ δή καί* is used more frequently by other writers of the Renaissance than by Lucian, but one passage, *ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τεράστια ἐργαζόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ κροκοδείλων ὀχούμενον . . .*<sup>1</sup>, must be compared with a passage in the first chapter of Hdt. and many other passages, *ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα*. Cf. *συνήδρευον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης*.<sup>2</sup> Add to the combinations already mentioned *ἐνθα δή* and *ἐνταῦθα δή*.

An exhaustive treatment of subordinate sentences with their particles would be interesting, but a few general remarks on final particles will have to suffice in so short a study, dealing primarily with coördination. Herodotos' favorite final particle is *ἵνα*. "The following is the table of the number of occurrences in Hdt.: (1) *ἵνα* 107; (2) *ὅπως* 12; (3) *ὅπως ἂν* 5; (4) *ὥς* 16; (5) *ὥς ἂν* 11."<sup>3</sup> *ἵνα* with the subjunctive largely predominates, for after

<sup>1</sup> Philops. 34 (3. 60).

<sup>2</sup> Ver. Hist. 2. 10 (2. 110).

<sup>3</sup> Amer. Jour. Phil. 4, pp. 416 ff. and 6, pp. 53 ff.

historical tenses alone the subjunctive occurs 41 times and the optative only 23 times. It means nothing, of course, that Lucian, too, has 107 occurrences of *ἵνα*, for his corpus, genuine and spurious, is nearly twice that of Hdt., but it is not without significance that he shows a very decided preference for the subjunctive after *ἵνα*. Heller<sup>1</sup> gives *ἵνα* with subj. 94 times, with opt. only 8 times, and a few times with indic. Special importance attaches to this when we compare the constructions of *ἵνα* and *ὥς*. Hdt. uses *ὥς* sparingly. Lucian, on the other hand, uses it over 300 times. The first point is the predominance of *ὥς* with opt. Out of 318 occurrences it is found with the opt. 235 times, and is freely used after principal tenses. Why? "The opt. is dying out, and when would-be elegant writers try to use it in final sentences they overdo it, as is notoriously the case in Lucian, who uses *ὥς* with opt. freely after principal tenses."<sup>2</sup> Thus, he is not necessarily following Plato, who is partial to the opt., and is here in marked contrast with his own more natural use of *ἵνα*. The second point is that of all these occurrences of *ὥς*, not one is found in True Histories, his model narrative of nearly 50 pp. Nor do we find *ὅπως* here; *ἵνα* occurs twice. Why did Lucian prefer the subj. with *ἵνα* even after secondary tenses when he went to the other extreme in the use of the opt. with *ὥς* even after primary tenses? Why omit his elegant *ὥς* with opt. in his model stories? In conclusion, it may be stated in general terms as to Lucian's narrative pieces that there is a marked preference for coördination and coördinate particles.

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## CHAPTER V.

### LUCIAN IN PERIOLOGY.

Periodology is a very broad term. Although it is claimed, as we have seen, that Herodotos' style is the perfection of *λέξεις εἰρομένης*, and although it is a fact that Aristotle and Hermogenes do not touch upon periods, cola, etc., except in connection with

<sup>1</sup> Die Absichtssätze bei Lucian, *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως*.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. 6, p. 68.

λέξις κατεστραμμένη, still Hdt. is not wholly unperiodic and in any case the structure of his sentences, taking periodology in its wider signification, demands a word. Blass<sup>1</sup> represents Hdt. as one who accumulates, as one on the border line between the so-called joining-on manner of speaking of the poets and old prose writers and the close union which was first perfected in Attic prose. The study of any author's periodology should include an examination of (1) the kind of sentences, whether coördinate or subordinate, the various kinds of each and the conjunctions used; (2) the extent of the sentences, whether long or short, the number of clauses and their arrangement; (3) the formation of sentences with regard to figures. Add as corollaries to be noticed (4) the fullness of his sentences, or de verborum ubertate, and (5) the general character of the narrative, whether ὀρθότης is preferred or πλαγιασμός.

The first and most important point has been fully discussed in Chap. IV. On the next point, Müller, continuing the passage cited above from Donaldson's translation,<sup>2</sup> says: "Long sentences, formed of several clauses, are for the most part confined to speeches." Schmid<sup>3</sup> says that in Lucian long sentences are the exception. It is impossible to count cola in Hdt. as, e. g., in Isocrates. In fact, as noted, the rhetoricians did not study periods and cola in Hdt., and no wonder when only such definitions were available as Aristotle's ἀφελῇ (περίοδον) δὲ λέγω τὴν μονόκωλον and κῶλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἕτερον μόριον ταύτης, and Hermogenes' κῶλον δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπηρτισμένη διάνοια. Naturalness, the adding on of a clause which seems to be an afterthought, the stringing along "rosary" fashion what Isocrates would carefully subordinate, stating simply with unaffected eloquence what Isocrates would adorn with studied finery, is Herodotos' chief charm. Yet with all this natural simplicity and apparent lack of orderly consecution of colon upon colon, his sentences are not composed of clauses thrown together incoherently, though there may not be formed a rhetorical climax or an Isocratean period. These same conditions prevail in Lucian's narrative. We cannot count cola and clauses in his sentences. He has

<sup>1</sup> Att. Bered. 1. 136; cf. 1. 133 for a more detailed analysis.

<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Att. 1, p. 422.

not the Isocratean periods. He has undeniably, however, the "rosary" effect, if not to the same extent as Hdt. There are whole passages and numberless sentences that remind us of Hdt., though, as is to be expected, much of the Herodotean charm is missing. A few sentences must suffice: *ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰχνη δύο πλησίον ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον· ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἑρακλέους:*<sup>1</sup> *τότε δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαντες, ἡ διαβατὸς ἦν, εὖρομεν ἀμπέλων χρῆμα τεράστιον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὃ στέλεχος αὐτὸς εὐερνῆς καὶ παχύς, τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ὅσον ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων ἅπαντα ἔχουσai τέλεια:*<sup>2</sup> *ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸ φρέαρ καταβῇ τις, ἀκούει πάντων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ λεγομένων, εἰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέψῃ, πάσας μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη ὁρᾷ ὥσπερ ἐφεστὼς ἐκάστοις· τότε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐγὼ ἐθεασάμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ δὲ κακείνοι ἐμὲ ἐώρων, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἀσφαλὲς εἰπεῖν.*<sup>3</sup> The last sentence is very suggestive of Hdt. *ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τοιόνδε τι ἐπενοήσαμεν—ὃ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος ἦν Σκίνθαρος—σκάψαντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σπήλαιον μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείναμεν ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακαίοντες καὶ σιτούμενοι τοὺς ἰχθύς· εὕρισκομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνορύττοντες.*<sup>4</sup>

Herodotos' skill in the use of particles is reinforced by an equally skilful manipulation of the participle. By means of these two he adds variety, freshness, and simplicity to his narrative and avoids the monotony of cola after cola with such Isocratean regularity: e. g. *παρὰ τούτων Ἑρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἑρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.*<sup>5</sup> "Herodotos, . . . while he seems to be on the whole polymetochic, shows a remarkable variation from the polymetochic, 1. 123, where Harpalus sends the hare to Cyrus, down to the oligometochic, 3. 41-3, the story of the ring of Polykrates."<sup>6</sup> "It is no accident that we find in the *Vera Historia*

<sup>1</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 7 (2. 75).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 1. 8 (2. 76).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1. 26 (2. 91); cf. 1. 31 (2. 95).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 2. 2 (2. 106); cf. 2. 17 (2. 114); 2. 20 end (2. 118); 2. 41 (2. 134); and many others.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 1. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Amer. Jour. Phil. 9. 150.



of Lucian now a series of finite verbs and immediately afterwards a eumetochic sentence, to be followed by ametochia and then again by eumetochia."<sup>1</sup> In the light of these facts we are almost forced to the conclusion that Lucian is an intentional imitator of Hdt. in narrative. Not only has he used paratactic particles as Hdt., and produced the "rosary" effect by means of participles, but he has combined the two and, what is more to the point here, has changed from one to the other in successive sentences or even in the same sentence. One feels that there is an effort to tell a story as the model story-teller.<sup>2</sup> A few sentences from Lucian will illustrate this point: γράφω τοῖνυν περὶ ὧν μήτε εἶδον μήτε ἔπαθον μήτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐπυθόμην, ἔτι δὲ μήτε ὅλως ὄντων μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι δυναμένων. διὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας μηδαμῶς πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς.<sup>3</sup> Immediately after this remarkable statement he begins his narrative: ὀρμηθεὶς γάρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ ἀφελὺς ἐς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν οὐρίῳ ἀνέμφῳ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦμην. Notice the striking difference between the two sentences and the suddenness of the transition. The second one is followed by an ametochic sentence coördinated by καί. Again: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀρπασθέντες ἀνέμφῳ σφοδρῷ τριταῖοι ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἔνθα τῷ κήτει περιτυχόντες καὶ αὐτανδροὶ καταποθέντες δύο ἡμεῖς μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθανόντων ἐσώθημεν. θάψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι δειμάμενοι τουτονὶ τὸν βίον ζῶμεν, λάχανα μὲν κηπεύοντες, ἰχθῦς δὲ σιτούμενοι καὶ ἀκρόδρυα. πολλὴ δέ, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, ἡ ὕλη, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀμπέλους ἔχει πολλὰς, ἀφ' ὧν ἡδιστος οἶνος γίγνεται· καὶ τὴν πηγὴν δὲ ἴσως εἶδετε καλλίστου καὶ ψυχροτάτου ὕδατος. εὐνὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ποιούμεθα καὶ πῦρ ἄφθονον καίομεν καὶ ὄρνεα δὲ θηρεύομεν τὰ εἰσπετόμενα καὶ ζῶντας ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύομεν ἐξιόντες ἐπὶ τὰ βραγχία τοῦ θηρίου, ἔνθα καὶ λουόμεθα, ὁπότεν ἐπιθυμήσωμεν.<sup>4</sup>

Under figures, only the Gorgianic demand attention here, because they are the ones that play an important rôle in a study of the periodic structure of sentences. These figures, though they were in existence at the time of Hdt., were just then being developed

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* 147.

<sup>2</sup> V. the entire article of Prof. Gildersleeve in A. J. P. cited above, and his introduction to Pindar, p. cix.

<sup>3</sup> *Ver. Hist.* 1. 4-5 (2. 73).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 1. 34 (2. 97-98).

by his contemporary, Gorgias, but their perfected development was not reached until Isocrates. Dr. Robertson,<sup>1</sup> however, has shown that Hdt. does use such figures, though sparingly. In the narrative portions of the sixth book we have the summary: antithesis 14; parison 4; paronomasia 19; parechesis 1; repetition 62. In my first chapter I tried to show that it was the ultra-Isocratean spirit that led to bombast and so to decay. We, therefore, naturally expect that the revival from this decay would present a literature with fewer Gorgianic figures. Such is the case. Lucian himself warns against such figures: *καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ δὲ σὺν ἀπόθου τῶν ῥημάτων τὴν τοσαύτην ἀπεραντολογίαν καὶ ἀντιθέσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ περιόδους καὶ βαρβαρισμούς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βάρη τῶν λόγων.*<sup>2</sup> That these figures do not abound in Lucian is for us merely a negative argument excluding certain influences, and needing support from other more positive arguments. It would be absurd to claim that Lucian took his few Gorgianic figures from Herodotos' still fewer, but their absence bespeaks a style of more simplicity, less periodic, more nearly approaching the Herodotean style, which is valuable enough when strengthened by positive Herodotean indications, such as have been given. The following passage is a fair sample of Lucian's repetition and paronomasia, which may include parechesis, and neither of them occurs even imperfectly more than 15 times in the first part of *Vera Historia*: *τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν ψυλλοτοξόται ἐπὶ ψυλλῶν μεγάλων ἱππάζονται . . . μέγεθος δὲ τῶν ψυλλῶν ὅσον δώδεκα ἐλέφαντες.*<sup>3</sup> One other short passage may serve to illustrate his use of parison, paromoion, and homoioteleuton; and there are very few examples in his narratives as good as this one; *πολλοὶ μὲν ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνηροῦντο.*<sup>4</sup>

In his chapter, *De Verborum Uberrate*, Grundmann very properly warns against being too dogmatic in claiming Herodotean influence when certain peculiarities of language or construction found in his works exist also in most, if not all, of the best Attic writers. But he claims with equal propriety the right to assert

<sup>1</sup> The Gorgianic Figures in Early Greek Prose.

<sup>2</sup> Dial. Mort. 10 (1. 374).

<sup>3</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 13 (2. 80).

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 1. 17 (2. 84).

Arrian's dependence on Hdt. along this line, *de verborum ubertate*, whenever the writings of the two abound in identically the same characteristics, which others use more sparingly. He says, e. g., that such expressions as *μεγέθει μέγας* and *πλήθει μέγιστος*, etc. go back to Hdt. Schmid<sup>1</sup> is authority for the statement that such expressions were common among writers of Lucian's time, being especially frequent in Aelian. Note the following from Lucian : *ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἤδη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ὤκισε μεγέθει τε μεγίστην καὶ καλλίστην*, and *οἶκον δέ τις ἰδὼν μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον*.<sup>2</sup> Grundmann<sup>3</sup> further points out that Hdt. and Arrian often repeat a preceding thought and by means of *μέν* oppose it to what follows. Lucian follows the same practice, but in a little different way. He summarizes or confirms or reasserts in a short additional clause added often by *δέ* or some similar particle, or by *οὕτως*, or without any particle. In Philopseudes<sup>4</sup> he sums up a long sentence : *οὕτως ἄτοπα διηγείτο*. Again, after a marvelous story which reminds one of the Bible : *τοσοῦτον ἡ ἐπὶ δὴ ἐδυνήθη καὶ ὁ στηλῖτης ἐκείνος λίθος*.<sup>5</sup> In the next section, after more marvels : *ἐπεὶ δὲ συνηλίσθησαν, ἐνεφύσησε μὲν αὐτὰ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα κατεκαύθη ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τῷ φύσσηματι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐθανμάζομεν*, where the very last clause seems very natural to a reader of Hdt. More nearly approaching Grundmann's illustrations is a summary in *True Histories* : *τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων ἐπῆρει παρασκευῇ*.<sup>6</sup> Again : *τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ὁρᾶν ὅπως*<sup>7</sup> . . . ; and *ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νησομαχίαν γενόμενα*,<sup>8</sup> the conclusion of the first part. Lucian makes use of *τοιούτος* or *τοσοῦτος* in such summaries more than Hdt., who seems to prefer *οὕτω* or *οὕτω δὴ*, *ἐνθαῦτα δὴ*, or the repetition of the verb. After a description of the terms of a peace between the inhabitants of the sun and the inhabitants of the moon, Lucian says : *τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο*.<sup>9</sup> In like manner he concludes a description of food and its preparation : *σίτῳ μὲν δὴ τρέφονται τοιούτῳ*.<sup>10</sup> Such conclusions with

<sup>1</sup> Att. 1. 312 and 418.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Conscrib. 31 (2. 42), De Domo 1 (3. 190).

<sup>4</sup> 5 (3. 34).

<sup>5</sup> 11 (3. 39).

<sup>7</sup> 1. 36 (2. 99).

<sup>8</sup> 1. 42 (2. 104).

<sup>9</sup> Ver. Hist. 1. 21 (2. 86).

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, 1. 23 (2. 88).

<sup>3</sup> p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> 1. 16 (2. 83).

forms of οὗτος are not hard to find. At the end of Odysseus' letter to Calypso we find : ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου ἡ ἐπιστολή, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ξενισθῶμεν.<sup>1</sup> At the close of part two, the whole of the True Histories is summarized in six lines beginning ταῦτα μὲν. The significance of such examples is materially heightened by their remarkable frequency in all of Lucian's narrative, especially True Histories.

All the foregoing evidence both affirms and is strengthened by the fact that Lucian's style resembles the style of Hdt. in its straightforward method of telling a story. There is not only ὁρθότης pure, the use of the nominative which carries with it the use of the finite verb usually in the indicative in narrative, but also the use of the participle not in the genitive absolute construction nor in any oblique case, to any extent, which is the sign of πλαγιασμός connoting περιβολή and σεμνότης.<sup>2</sup> The rhetoricians are construed as believing that such a use of the participle is to be classed under πλαγιασμός along with the genitive absolute, but it appeals to me more as a pleasing variety of ὁρθότης, if ὁρθότης means straightforwardness. Granted, as the rhetoricians contend, that the participle, whatever its construction, is a σχῆμα περιβλητικόν, is one of those forms that bring about περιβολή, we still contend that both Hdt. and Luc. secure the effect of straightforward narrative by the use of the participle as well as by the use of the finite verb, the alternation of eumetochia and ametochia in both authors having been previously noticed. As an example of ὁρθότης in Luc. : αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος δύναμις ἦν. σκευὴ δὲ πάντων ἡ αὕτη· κράνη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κυάμων· μεγάλοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ κύαμοι καὶ καρτεροί· θώρακες δὲ φολιδωτοὶ πάντες θέρμιοι· τὰ γὰρ λέπη τῶν θέρμων συρράπτοντες ποιοῦνται θώρακας· ἄρρηκτον δ' ἐκεῖ γίνεται τοῦ θέρμου τὸ λέπος ὥσπερ κέρας· ἀσπίδες δὲ καὶ ξίφη οἷα τὰ Ἑλληνικά.<sup>3</sup> Compare with this the beginning of the narrative in True Histories : ὁρμηθεὶς γὰρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ ἀφείς ἐς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν οὐρίῳ ἀνέμφ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιούμην ;<sup>4</sup> and again : . . . προσενεχθέντες δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὁρμισάμενοι ἀπέβημεν, ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ τὴν χώραν

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 2. 35 (2. 131).

<sup>2</sup> *Ver. Hist.* 1. 14 (2. 81).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. J. P. ix, 140 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 1. 5. (2. 73).

*εὐρίσκομεν οἰκουμένην*. . .<sup>1</sup> Allowing that the effect of the participle is to retard the movement somewhat in these and hundreds of similar passages in Luc. and Hdt. does not detract from the simplicity or clearness or the straightforward method of the narrative. It is in a sense *ὀρθότης* connoting *καθαρότης* and *ἀφέλεια*; and both Hdt. and Luc. abound in this general character of narrative interchanged with pure *ὀρθότης*, to the exclusion of *πλαγιασμός*, or dependency, or genitive absolute. Their coördination of participles is in keeping with their coördination of particles.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### LUCIAN—HIS LANGUAGE, CONSTRUCTIONS, MATERIAL.

This chapter might easily constitute a book in itself with three chapters, one each for language, constructions, and material, but lack of space forbids.

Notwithstanding the fact already noted that comedy, Plato, and Xenophon are the principal sources of the Renaissance for words, Schmid gives 85 words which he claims Lucian has taken from Herodotos and other Ionic writers not including Hippocrates. There are besides 300 words in the Lucianic corpus which have been used by Hdt. in common with one or more of the standard writers, and more than 200 that have been used by Hdt. in common with the poets, mostly Homer and the tragedians. Take, e. g., three uncommon words in Somn.<sup>2</sup>: *βάνυστος* καὶ *χειρῶναξ* καὶ *ἀποχειροβίωτος*. The first one is used by Soph., Ar., Xen., Plat.; the second by Hdt.,<sup>3</sup> Soph. as an adj. in a fragment, Euripides in another sense in a fragment; the third by Hdt.<sup>4</sup> and Xen.<sup>5</sup> As in the case of these last two, so in many other cases of the 500 taken from Hdt. and others in common, Hdt. should be placed first because the word is used by him more prominently or more

<sup>1</sup> 1. 10 (2. 77).

<sup>2</sup> 9 (1. 14).

<sup>3</sup> 1. 95 and 2. 141.

<sup>4</sup> 3. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Cyr. 8. 3. 37.

frequently. V. Du Mesnil<sup>1</sup> for certain unusual forms. He gives *οὐδαμόθι* for *οὐδαμοῦ*<sup>2</sup> as Ionic; also *ἡρνησάμην* for *ἡρνήθην*<sup>3</sup> as used only by the poets and Ionic writers and once by Aeschines. But this department is the least fruitful for the whole Atticismus.

Only a few unusual constructions will be mentioned, but enough to show Lucian's great familiarity with Hdt. and the extent to which he was influenced by Herodotean peculiarities. Schmid<sup>4</sup> and Du Mesnil<sup>5</sup> call attention to the joining of an accusative with an article as a Herodotean peculiarity among the ancients and a Lucianic peculiarity among the later writers: *ὅστις οὗτος ὁ προσιών ἐστίν, ὁ κερασφόρος, ὁ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ λάσιος ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν*; <sup>6</sup> *πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπεισεκυκλήθησαν οὗτοι ἢ ὁ Μίθρης ἐκείνος ὁ Μῆδος ὁ τὸν κίνδυν καὶ τὴν τιάραν*; <sup>7</sup> *ἢ Βαβυλῶν δέ σοι ἐκείνη ἐστίν ἢ εὐπυργος ἢ τὸν μέγαν περίβολον*.<sup>8</sup> Du Mesnil agrees with Matthiae 427b in explaining the phenomenon by the omission of *ἔχων*. In the Herodotean examples the article seems not to be expressed, though the *ἔχων* is to be supplied in the same way: *τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας (βοῦς) καταρύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ὑπερέχοντα, sc. ἔχοντας*.<sup>9</sup>

*περί* with dat. for *περί* with acc. is rarely used by the ancients except the Ionic writers and the poets. V. Du Mesnil<sup>10</sup> and Lundberg.<sup>11</sup> The one says it is frequent in Hdt., the other in Lucian: *ἀποκυλιομένους ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ ἐνίοτι καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαμβάνοντας περὶ τραχείαις ταῖς πέτραις*.<sup>12</sup>

Merriam<sup>13</sup> says that "the third attributive position is a favorite with Hdt. and his admirer, Lucian, but not very common in the

<sup>1</sup> Grammatica, Quam Lucianus in Scriptis Suis Secutus Est, Ratio cum Antiquorum Atticorum Ratione Comparatur, pp. 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> Hermot. 3. 1 (1. 771).

<sup>3</sup> Dial. Mer. 7. 4 (3. 298).

<sup>4</sup> 1. 234.

<sup>5</sup> p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Bis. Acc. 9 (2. 801), cf. *ib.*, 19 (2. 814).

<sup>7</sup> Deor. Conc. 9 (3. 533).

<sup>8</sup> Char. 23 (1. 522) cf. *ib.* 14 (1. 509).

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 2. 41; cf. 2. 134, 4. 71, etc.

<sup>10</sup> p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> De Ratione Herodotea Praepositionibus Utendi a Scriptoribus Atticis Diversa, 1869, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Luc. Rhet. Praec. 3 (3. 4); *ib.*, 18 (3. 20); De Domo 7 (3. 194); De Hist. Conscri. 23 (2. 31), etc.

<sup>13</sup> V. note to Hdt. 6. 22. 3.

best Attic." The original authority of this note<sup>1</sup> has modified his statement<sup>2</sup> after a further examination of Lucian. The only place in which he uses the third position with any frequency at all is, as we would expect, the narrative passage, True Histories. Here there are a dozen examples and about the same number of the second position, the first largely predominating everywhere.

Schmid<sup>3</sup> calls attention to Lucian's not infrequent practice of throwing back the accent of dissyllabic prepositions, especially *περί*. Of the ancient prose writers only Hdt. and Plato follow this practice to any extent. It cannot be claimed that Lucian followed either of these or the poets, but two facts are interesting, that when he calls up Hdt.<sup>4</sup> and makes him talk Ionic, there is an anastrophic *πέρι*, and that in the Syrian Goddess, which I have tried to establish in another place<sup>5</sup> as a Lucianic composition, *πέρι* is found no less than 15 times.

Sommerbrodt<sup>6</sup> remarks that *ὥς* for *ὥστε* is to be found in Hdt. and the Attic poets. It is frequently found in Lucian.

Lucian takes another liberty with Attic prose, the use of *οὐδέ* for *καὶ οὐ*, for which his only authority could be Hdt. or the poets: *καὶ νῦν σὺ τὸν κιθαρωδὸν . . . ἀναλαβὼν ἐξενήξω ἐς Ταίναρον . . . οὐδὲ περιεῖδες κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἀπολλύμενον*.<sup>7</sup> The Syrian Goddess has several examples of this also.

It is possible that at times Lucian tried to cover up his tracks, so to speak, and was intentionally at variance with the writers of whom he was fond. In Somn.,<sup>8</sup> where the Teubner text reads *ὥς*, Sommerbrodt changes to *εἰς* on the strength of similar passages in Hdt.,<sup>9</sup> where in each case *εἰς* is used with persons, as here, for the more usual *πρὸς* or *ὥς*, and also as here after the same word, *αὐτομολεῖν*.

<sup>1</sup> V. note to Prof. Gildersleeve's edition of Justin Martyr, 1, C. 6. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Amer. Jour. Phil. 6. 262.

<sup>3</sup> 1. 234.

<sup>4</sup> De Domo 20 (3. 202).

<sup>5</sup> Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve.

<sup>6</sup> V. note on Luc. Char. 23 (1. 521): *ὥς* - - *μὴ νεωκῆσαι*.

<sup>7</sup> Dial. Mar. 8. 1 (1. 308), cf. Rhet. Praec. 16 (3. 17); Dial. Meretr. 7. 3 (3. 297); Gall. 14 (2. 724); Prom. 1 (1. 23); etc.

<sup>8</sup> 12 (1. 18).

<sup>9</sup> 3. 154, 156, 160.

Du Mesnil<sup>1</sup> has called attention to the expression *ἔφη που λέγων* in Lucian. This pleonasm is frequent in Hdt.<sup>2</sup>

The expression *οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ* used by Hdt.<sup>3</sup> passed into a proverb and is used by Lucian.

Lucian warns his readers at the opening of the True Histories that not a word he is to utter has any truth in it, so that he can be free from that deception and untruthfulness exemplified in previous story-tellers who expected people to believe their every word. But he seems to forget this as he becomes interested in the story and makes a number of statements that sound familiar to readers of Hdt.; e. g., rather than make a plain statement, he writes: *ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀστέρων ἦξειν . . . . τούτους ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐθεασάμην*.<sup>4</sup> And in the same section: *τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἄπιστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο*. Again: *τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τφ καὶ ἄπιστον δόξῃ, τοσοῦτον ἦν*.<sup>5</sup>

Many interesting verbal correspondences and other points of interest might be cited, but no further mention of such will be made except in connection with the treatment of subject matter. Lucian and the Renaissance in general had a great deal of what we call the classic literature, how much, we cannot tell, from which to draw, so that we must not always trace to Hdt. as a source what is common property. We can, of course, use here what is peculiar to Hdt., especially when other similarities exist. In fact, in view of the preceding arguments, that Herodotos' influence upon Lucian in the sphere of story-telling is especially marked, we have more right to claim Hdt. as the original source even of many stories found elsewhere. Many of the references given are only suggestions of comparisons, while those given more in detail furnish stronger evidence. The same may be said of Dio Chr. to whom parallel references are given. I have followed the order of Hdt., and from this point put all references in the text.

*Io.* V. Hdt. 1. 1, 1. 5, 2. 4. Cf. Luc., *Deor. Dial.* 3 (1. 207); *Mar. Dial.* 7 (1. 305-307); *Salt.* 43 (2. 293). Cf. Dio (*Teubner text*) vol. 1, p. 100, l. 8 (*Oration* 11. 40).

<sup>1</sup> p. 58, note on Luc. *Dem. Enc.* 15 (3. 502).

<sup>2</sup> 1. 118; 3. 156; 5. 36, 49. V. Stein to the first passage.

<sup>3</sup> 6. 129; cf. Luc. *Herc.* 8 (3. 86); [*Philopatr.*] 29 (3. 618); *Apolog.* 15 (1. 724). Each of the last two ends a work.

<sup>4</sup> *Ver. Hist.* 1. 13 (2. 80).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 1. 18 (2. 84); cf. *ib.*, 1. 25 (2. 90) and *Philops.* 16 (3. 44).



*Europa.* V. Hdt. 1. 2. Cf. Luc., Mar. Dial. 15 (1. 325–327); D. D. S. 4 (3. 453). It is interesting to note the exact correspondence of the account in the D. D. S. with that of Lucian, even though it is a little abbreviated.

*Croesus.* Lucian has drawn largely upon Hdt. for all he has to say about Croesus; in fact, the correspondence is too evident to admit of discussion. Hdt.'s account of Croesus is given, for the most part, in the first book, chapters 7–94. Chs. 8–12 tell how his house came into power. Cf. Luc. [Asin.] 28 (2. 597). Cf. Dio 2. 214. 18 (Or. 64.27). General references to Croesus' great wealth are: Luc., Tim. 23 (1. 137); Navig. 26 (3. 265); Mort. Dial. 2. 2 (1. 337). The famous dialogue between Croesus and Solon, Hdt. 1. 30–33, has a very close parallel in Luc., Char. 9 ff. (1. 501 ff.). To Charon Hermes points out Croesus in his palace at Sardis talking with Solon the Athenian. In general, there is very little difference between the two accounts. Hdt. makes Telloos the first in happiness, while the story about Cleobis and Biton is second. Lucian reverses the order, but assigns the same reasons in each case as Hdt.

#### Lucian.

ὦ ξένη Ἀθηναίε, εἶδες γάρ μου τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ ὅσος ἄσημος χρυσός ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν, εἰπέ μοι, τίνα ἡγῇ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστατον εἶναι.

Τέλλος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὃς εὖ τε ἐβίω καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

#### Herodotos.

κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια . . . εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· ξεῖνε Ἀθηναίε . . . σὺν ᾧ ἡμερος ἐπείρεσθαι μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τίνα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.

ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον' Ἀθηναῖον. Τέλλω . . . τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, ὥς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς Ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα.

ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη ;

ἐγὼ δὲ ὦν οἶδα Κλέοβιν καὶ  
Βίτωνα ἡγοῦμαι εὐδαιμονεστά-  
τους γενέσθαι, τοὺς τῆς ἱερείας  
παίδας τῆς Ἀργόθεν.

φησὶν οὗτος τοὺς ἅμα πρῶτην  
ἀποθανόντας, ἐπεὶ τὴν μητέρα  
ὑποδύντες εἴλκυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἀπῆνης ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.

ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ κάθαρμα, οὐ σοι  
δοκῶ εὐδαίμων εἶναι ;

οὐδέπω οἶδα, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἦν μὴ  
πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀφίκη τοῦ βίου.

ἐπειρώτα, τίνα δεύτερον μετ'  
ἐκείνων ἴδοι ;

Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίωνα. τού-  
τοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι.

ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα  
αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ  
ἱρόν . . . ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ  
τὴν ζεύγλην εἴλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν,  
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὠχέετο  
ἡ μήτηρ.

ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα  
εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται  
ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων  
ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας.

ἐκεῖνο δέ, τὸ εἶρέο με, οὐ κῶ  
σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτή-  
σαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθω-  
μαι. . . .

Lucian next follows Hdt. in giving the history of Croesus' children. With Hdt. 1. 134 and 1. 43 cf. Luc., Jup. Conf. 12 (2. 635-6). Both make mention of the *two* sons of Croesus, one of them *κωφός* according to both. V. Hdt. 1. 34 ; Luc. Pro Imag. 20 (2. 500) ; Gall. 25 (2. 741).

Again, we have strikingly similar accounts of the answers given to Croesus when in his jealousy and alarm at the success of the Persian power he sent messengers to various oracles. With Hdt. 1. 47, and 1. 48 cf. Luc., Jup. Conf. 14 (2. 637) ; Jup. Trag. 30 (2. 676). Also Hdt. 1. 43 with Luc., Jup. Conf. 14 (2. 637).

Among many other gifts sent to win the favor of the Delphian oracle mentioned by Hdt., 1. 50-51, was a large amount of gold which was made into half-plinths or bricks, *ἡμιπλίνθια*. Here, then, is where Lucian gets sections 11-12 of his Charon. Cf. Jup. Trag. 30 (2. 676.)

Again, Hdt., 1. 75, and Luc., [Hipp.] 2 (3. 68), give similarly the plan by which Thales the Milesian enabled Croesus to lead his

army across the river Halys. Cf. Luc. Jup. Conf. 14 (2. 637) and Jup. Trag. 20 (2. 664), 43 (2. 691).

Once more, the story comes from Hdt. about the battle with Cyrus, the defeat and capture of Croesus, the penalty adjudged him, and his marvelous escape by calling upon Solon and later upon Apollo. V. Hdt. 1. 86; cf. Luc., Char. 13 (1. 508): *μυμνήσεται δ' οὖν μικρὸν ὕστερον τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὅταν αὐτὸν δέῃ ἀλόντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἀναχθῆναι* . . . cf. Gall. 23 (2. 737).

The only reference of importance from Dio is 1. 164. 25 (Or. 10. 26), where he is in full agreement with Hdt. in summarizing the history of Croesus in connection with the Persians.

*Cyrus.* His history begins Hdt. 1. 107. Cf. especially 1. 122: *κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε* with Luc. Sacr. 5 (1. 530): *ὁ Πέρσης Κῦρος ὁ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς κυνός.* With Hdt. 1. 123-130, relating especially to Astyages, cf. Dio 1. 265. 21 (Or. 15.22); 1. 312. 16. (Or. 25. 5); 2. 292. 18 (Or. 80. 12). Cyrus' connection with Babylon is given, Hdt. 1. 178-200. Cf. 1. 103, 106; 2. 150 for mention of Nineveh; cf. Luc., Char. 13 (1. 521-2) and Dio 1. 73. 27 (Or. 4. 53). Hdt. 1. 214 gives an account of Cyrus' death, how he was defeated by the Massagetai, how Tomyris, the ruler of the Massagetai, filled a skin with human blood and put Cyrus' head in it: *ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπίνου Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπήκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν.* Cf. Luc., [Macr.] 14 (3. 217) and especially Char. 13 (1. 508): *Κροῖσον μὲν ἀλῶναι ὑπὸ Κύρου, Κῦρον δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνησιν τῆς Μασσαγέτιδος ἀποθανεῖν. . . . Τόμυρις ἐκείνη ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν γε ἀποτεμούσα τοῦ Κύρου αὕτη ἐς ἀσκὸν ἐμβαλεῖ πλήρη αἵματος.* Cf. Ver. Hist. 2. 17 (2. 114).

*Libyan History.* V. Hdt. 2. 32-150; 4. 43, 168-186, 191-2. Cf. Lucian's *Dipsas* entire, noting the word *dipsas* in connection with Herodotos' facts. Cf. Dio 1. 90. 13 (Or. 5. 1 ff.); 2. 130. 14 (Or. 47. 4).

*Heracles, Alomene, Amphitryon.* V. Hdt. 2. 43. Cf. Luc. [Charid.] 6 (3. 621); Dial. Deor. 10 (1. 229-30).

*Paris, Helen.* V. Hdt. 2. 112 ff. Dio 1. 178. 14 (Or. 11. 41) gives the same account, but repudiates the tradition of Hdt. and

discusses the whole myth very extensively in Or. 11. V. Hague, *Quaestiones Dioneae*, 1887, p. 47.

*Cambyses* has been treated quite fully by Hdt., bk. 3, in connection with Egyptian history. Cf. Luc. Char. 13 (1. 509). Cf. Dio 1. 312. 21 (Or. 25. 5); 2. 251. 15 (Or. 73. 2). Note in particular the account of the dishonor done the dead body of Amasis by Cambyses, Hdt. 3. 16 and Dio 2. 305. 32 (*Corinthiaca* 37). On Egyptian worship in general, v. Hdt. 3. 27-29; 2. 42; especially 4. 181. Cf. Luc. Deor. Concil. 10 and 11 (3. 533-4); Sac. 15 (1. 539). Cf. [Astrol.] 7-8 (2. 363-4).

*India*. V. Hdt. 3. 94-105. Cf. Luc. [Asin.] 53 (2. 621); [Amor.] 41 (2. 442); Gall. 16 (2. 726).

*Arabia*. V. Hdt. 3. 107-113. Cf. Luc. Ver. Hist. 2. 5 (2. 107); D. D. S. 30 (3. 477).

*Polycrates, Maeander, Oroetes*. V. Hdt. 3. 120-125. Cf. 3. 39. Cf. Luc., Char. 14 (1. 510); Necyom. 16 (1. 478-9); Navig. 26 (3. 265); Salt. 54 (2. 298). Cf. Dio 1. 276. 27 (Or. 17. 15).

*Zopyrus*. Hdt. gives very fully, 3. 153-60, the story about Zopyrus at the siege of Babylon. He hacked himself up terribly and, presenting himself to the Babylonians, complained that he had been maltreated by Darius, and offered to serve the Babylonians against the Persians. He was received and rapidly rose in favor by reason of his prowess, and by a number of times killing or capturing bands of Persians intentionally put into his hands by Darius according to previous agreement. Finally, at the proper time, he turned over the city to Darius. Hdt. adds, 3. 160: πολλὰ-  
κίς δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὥς βούλοιο  
ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθεία τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἢ Βαβυλωνίας οἱ  
εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ προσγενέσθαι. Cf. Luc., Jup. Trag. 53 (2.  
701): ἀλλὰ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὸ τοῦ Δαρείου πάννυ καλῶς ἔχον ἐστίν, δ  
εἶπεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζωπύρου· ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλόμην ἂν ἓνα τοιοῦτον  
ἔχειν οἶον τὸν Δᾶμιν ξύμμαχον ἢ μυρίας μοι Βαβυλωνίας ὑπ-  
άρχειν. Cf. D. D. S. 25 (3. 471), where the appeal made to Com-  
babus seems very similar to that of Darius to Zopyrus, Hdt. 3.  
155. Also the honors heaped upon Zopyrus remind us of the  
honors here given Combabus. Note, too, that Combabus is granted  
permission to go to the king unannounced, which has a decided  
parallel in Hdt. 3. 84, 118.

*Aristeas.* V. Hdt. 4. 14, 15. Cf. Dio 2. 306. 25 (Corinthiaca 37).  
*Scythians.* Cf. Hdt. 4. 26 and Luc., Deor. Dial. 16. 1 (1. 243-4). Cf. Hdt. 4. 62 and Luc., Jup. Trag. 42 (2. 690); Sac. 13 (1. 537), etc. Cf. Hdt. 4. 70 and Luc., Tox. (?) 36-8 (2. 544-6). Cf. Hdt. 4. 85 and Luc., [Ner.] 2 (3. 637). Cf. Dio 1. 312, 24 (Or. 25. 5); 1. 72. 8 (Or. 4. 45). Cf. Hdt. 4. 94-5 and Luc., Deor. Concil. 9 (3. 533); Ver. Hist. 2. 17 (2. 114). Cf. Hdt. 4. 107 and Dio 2. 50. 15 (Or. 36. 7).

The Toxaris, which Guttentag says does not belong to Lucian because it is too carefully imitative of him, furnishes many parallels to Hdt. So his Anacharsis may be connected with Hdt. 4, 46, 76, 77.

*Clisthenes of Sicyon.* V. Hdt. 5. 67 and cf. 6, 126. Cf. Dio 1. 46. 21 (Or. 3. 41); 1. 180. 3 (Or. 11. 47).

*Pan (Datis and Artaphernes).* Cf. Hdt. 6, 94 and Luc., Bis Acc. 9 (2. 801). Cf. Hdt. 6. 105 and Luc., Bis Acc. 9 (2. 801); Dial. Deor. 22. 3 (1. 271-2). With these passages cf. Hdt. 2. 46, 145 and Luc., Philops. 3 (3. 32). Cf. Dio 1. 211. 10 (Or. 11. 148). This is a very interesting study.

*Alcmaeon.* V. Chap. III under Dio Chr.

*Cimon.* V. Hdt. 6, 136. Cf. Dio 2. 252. 29 (Or. 73. 6).

*Xerxes.* His history is given by Hdt. in books 7 and 8. Cf. Luc., Dem. Enc. 32 (3. 514); Rhet. Praec. 18 (3. 20); Dial. Mort. 20. 2 (1. 412). Cf. Dio 1. 72. 7 (Or. 4. 45); 1. 211. 15 (Or. 11. 148); 1. 247. 30 (Or. 13. 23); etc.

*Nisaeon Horses.* V. Hdt. 7. 40. Cf. Luc., Hist. 39 (2. 52). Cf. Dio 2. 61. 15 (Or. 36. 41).

*Themistocles.* V. Hdt. 7. 141-2. Cf. Luc., Jup. Trag. 31 (2. 678). Cf. Dio 2. 252. 22 (Or. 73. 5).

*Boreas and Orithya.* V. Hdt. 7. 189. Cf. Luc., Salt. 40 (2. 292); Philops. 3 (3. 32).

*Leonidas.* V. Hdt. 7. 204. Cf. Luc., Rhet. Praec. 18 (3. 20). Cf. Dio 1. 211. 15 (Or. 11. 148); 2. 283. 30 (Or. 78. 40).

*Salamis.* V. Hdt. 7. 228; 8. 5, 59, 61, 94, etc. Cf. Luc., Rhet. Praec. 18 (3. 20). Cf. Dio 1. 210. 15 (Or. 11. 145); 2. 298. 11 (Or. Corin.); 2. 295. 4 (Or. Corin.).

The story of Periander and Arion, Hdt. 1. 23-4, has been held in reserve for a little more careful inspection. The accounts of

